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211022Z Sep 01

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ACTION AF-00

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	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-00	LAB-01	L-00	VCE-00
	AC-01	NSAE-00	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00
	ACE-00	P-00	SP-00	IRM-00	SSO-00	TRSE-00	USIE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9786
INFO NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 HARARE 002787

SIPDIS

NAIROBI FOR TERRY PFLAUMER
LONDON FOR CHARLES GURNEY
PARIS FOR BISA WILLIAMS
NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR JENDAYI FRAZER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/21/11

TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PINR](#) [ZI](#)

SUBJECT: FM MUDENGE LECTURES THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS

CLASSIFIED BY CDA RICHARD ROTH FOR REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

1. (C) SUMMARY AND COMMENT: IN AN EXCRUCIATING TWO-HOUR LECTURE TO THE FULL DIPLOMATIC CORPS SEPTEMBER 20 ZIMBABWE FOREIGN MINISTER MUDENGE EXTOLLED THE GREAT SUCCESS OF THE ABUJA AGREEMENT BECAUSE "EVERYONE AGREED ON THE CENTRALITY OF THE LAND ISSUE", PRAISED THE SADC HEADS OF STATE MEETING (SEPTEMBER 10-11) BECAUSE THEY AFFIRMED THE ABUJA AGREEMENT ON LAND REFORM, AND LAID DOWN A MARKER ON THE NEED FOR FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS TO "HONOR AND RESPECT" ZIMBABWE'S LAW PROHIBITING THE FOREIGN FINANCING OF POLITICAL PARTIES. HE ALSO DEVOTED A PORTION OF HIS PRESENTATION ON THE RECENT KIGALI POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING ON THE DRC (SEE SEPTTEL). WHILE TRYING TO REMAIN WITHIN HIS ROLE AS FOREIGN MINISTER MUDENGE FREQUENTLY DONNED HIS FAR MORE PARTISAN HAT AS A ZANU-PF MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT (MP), CONVENIENTLY SWEEPING ASIDE THE OTHER SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF THE ABUJA AND SADC MEETINGS ON RULE OF LAW, CESSATION OF INTIMIDATION AND GOVERNMENT-CONDONED VIOLENCE. IT WILL BE VERY HARD TO LEVEL THIS PLAYING FIELD IF MUDENGE ACCURATELY REFLECTS THE POLICY INTENTIONS OF MUGABE AND HIS INNER CIRCLE, WHICH WE BELIEVE HE DOES. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

ABUJA: LAND, LAND, LAND

2. (C) IN DESCRIBING THE SEPTEMBER 6 ABUJA MEETING,
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MUDENGE SAID THAT INITIALLY IT WAS HEADED FOR A DISASTER BECAUSE OF THE TOTALLY INCOMPATIBLE PERSPECTIVES OF THE GOZ WITH THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS. IN HIS VIEW, IT WAS THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF NIGERIAN PRESIDENT OBASANJO THAT THE MEETING WAS "SAVED" BECAUSE HE WAS ABLE TO "DOWNPLAY" THE OTHER "EXTRANEUS" ISSUES THAT THE OTHER DELEGATES WANTED TO DISCUSS AND PLACE THE FOCUS ON THE LAND REFORM QUESTION. MUDENGE CLAIMED THAT THE OTHER DELEGATES AGREED IN THE END TO THE "CENTRALITY" OF THE LAND ISSUE, BUT EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERNS ABOUT HOW IT WAS BEING IMPLEMENTED. HE MENTIONED RULE OF LAW, VIOLENCE AND THE IMPACT ON THE ECONOMY AS BEING THE PRINCIPLE CONCERNS OF THE OTHER DELEGATES. IN THE END THE COMPROMISE WAS ACCEPTED OUTLINING THE PRINCIPLES OF WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS A "PACKAGE DEAL" WITH THE COMMITMENTS OF EACH PARTY CLEARLY DEFINED.

3. (C) MUDENGE ASSERTED THAT THE GOZ INTENDS TO HONOR THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER OF THE ABUJA AGREEMENT, BUT WILL DO SO IN A VERY DELIBERATE FASHION. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD CONDUCTED A 12-HOUR INTERNAL MEETING OF THE POLITBURO TO DISCUSS THE

IMPLICATIONS OF ABUJA AND HOW TO IMPLEMENT IT. HE CLAIMED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS ACCUSED BY SOME POLITBURO MEMBERS OF SELLING OUT. NEVERTHELESS, THE GOZ WILL PUT IN PLACE A MECHANISM TO IMPLEMENT THE ABUJA AGREEMENT NEXT WEEK. HE FRANKLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE HAVE BEEN INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE UP UNTIL NOW, BUT ASCRIBED THIS TO THE FACT THAT THERE HAD NOT BEEN AN IMPLEMENTING MECHANISM IN PLACE. HE STATED
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FLATLY THAT THE GOVERNMENT AND ZANU-PF WILL GREATLY REDUCE VIOLENT INCIDENTS AND BRING ABOUT A RETURN TO NORMALCY. HE ALSO SAID THAT THE GOZ WILL STOP ANY NEW OCCUPATIONS.

14. (C) MUDENGE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD NOT YET HAD A SERIOUS MEETING WITH THE COMMERCIAL FARMERS, SOME OF WHOM BELIEVE THERE WILL BE "FULL COMPENSATION" FOR THEIR LAND. BUT, HE CLAIMED, MANY WILL NOT TAKE COMFORT FROM THIS BECAUSE THE ISSUE IS NOT MONEY, BUT LAND, AND MANY COMMERCIAL FARMERS WILL TRY TO ENSURE THAT ABUJA WILL NOT SUCCEED. "WE INTEND TO FULFILL OUR COMMITMENTS AND WE HOPE THAT THE UK, AUSTRALIA AND CANADA WILL FULFILL THEIRS". HE ALSO EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT OTHERS WOULD ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES WITH THIS COMMITMENT, I.E. BE PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE MONEY FOR LAND REFORM.

SADC: WE'RE ALL IN THIS TOGETHER

15. (C) MUDENGE'S DESCRIPTION OF THE SADC MEETING ALSO EXCLUDED VIRTUALLY EVERY SUBSTANTIVE ISSUE EXCEPT LAND. HE ATTEMPTED TO SPIN THE MEETING AS ONE IN

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WHICH "EVERYONE" HAD AGREED THAT LAND WAS THE CENTRAL
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ISSUE. HE ALSO TRIED TO MAKE THE CASE THAT ZIMBABWE'S ECONOMIC WELFARE AFFECTED THE WELFARE OF THE REST OF THE REGION AND THAT WAS EXACTLY WHY SANCTIONS WOULD HAVE VERY SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR ZIMBABWE'S SADC NEIGHBORS. "VILIFYING AND DEMONIZING ZIMBABWE HAS A NEGATIVE ON THE WHOLE REGION AND DISCOURAGES ECONOMIC ACTIVITY". MUDENGE THEN DRONED ON ABOUT ZIMBABWE'S INTER-DEPENDENT ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, BOTSWANA AND MOZAMBIQUE. ONLY TOWARD THE END DID HE ACKNOWLEDGE SADC'S CONCERN ABOUT THE "PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE AND RANDOM INTIMIDATION", BUT TRIED TO DISMISS THIS AS "MANUFACTURED PROPAGANDA".

STAY OUT OF OUR POLITICS

16. (C) AFTER AN IMPASSIONED PLEA FOR UN SECURITY COUNCIL PERM-5 MEMBERS TO URGE THEIR CAPITOLS TO SUPPORT AN INSERTION OF A LARGE UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE

IN THE DRC TO REPLACE THE SMALL UN OBSERVER FORCE,
MUDENGE ADDED AN UNANNOUNCED ITEM TO HIS AGENDA.
TELLING THE ASSEMBLED DIP CORPS THAT HE WAS APPEALING
TO THEM AS A MINISTER AND NOT AS A ZANU-PF MP, HE
LAUNCHED INTO A NONE TOO THINLY VEILED WARNING THAT
THEIR GOVERNMENTS MUST "HONOR AND RESPECT" THE
RECENTLY PASSED GOZ LAW PROHIBITING THE FOREIGN
FINANCING OF POLITICAL PARTIES. HE SAID BLUNTLY THAT
THIS WOULD MEAN THAT DIRECT FOREIGN SUPPORT OF THE MDC
IS FORBIDDEN. AS FOREIGN MINISTER HE HOPED THAT
ACCREDITED GOVERNMENTS WOULD SEE ADHERENCE TO THIS LAW
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IN THE CONTEXT OF GOOD RELATIONS. TO STRENGTHEN HIS
POINT MUDENGE CLAIMED THAT THE GOZ HAD "COPIED FROM
SOME OF YOUR LAWS" IN WRITING ITS OWN SIMILAR
LEGISLATION. "THIS LAW IS IMPORTANT FOR OUR
SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-RESPECT. LET US
MAKE OUR OWN MISTAKES ACCORDING TO OUR NATIONAL
CHARACTER. WE HAVE OUR OWN POLITICAL CULTURE, PLEASE
LET US FOLLOW IT ON OUR OWN."

17. (C) SHEDDING HIS MINISTERIAL CLOAK, MUDENGE
INFORMED THE AUDIENCE THAT ZANU-PF INTENDS TO FIGHT
VERY STRONGLY AGAINST EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE. AS
FOREIGN MINISTER HE HOPED THAT HE WOULD NOT HAVE TO
CALL IN ANY OF THE AMBASSADORS OR CHARGES TO CONFRONT
THEM WITH VIOLATIONS BY THEIR GOVERNMENTS OF
ZIMBABWE'S LAWS. HOWEVER, HE ADDED, HE WOULD NOT
HESITATE TO DO SO IF THE GOZ'S INFORMATION WAS
SUFFICIENT TO "PROVE" THAT FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS WERE
BREAKING THE GOZ'S LAWS.

ADDITIONAL COMMENT:

18. (C) AS ONE OF THE HARDLINERS WITHIN THE GOZ AND
ZANU-PF, MUDENGE GAVE A VERY FRANK OUTLINE OF THE
GOVERNMENT'S STRATEGY: PORTRAY RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AS
SUPPORTING THE GOZ'S POLICIES ON LAND REFORM, DOWNPLAY
ANY EFFORTS TO FOCUS ON RULE OF LAW, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND
INTIMIDATION ISSUES, AND CAST THE UPCOMING ELECTION AS
A "VICTORY" FOR ZANU-PF IN FINALLY GETTING BACK THE
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LAND FOR THE MAJORITY OF ZIMBABWE'S CITIZENS. A
BACKGROUND THEME WILL BE TO BLAME ANY LACK OF SUCCESS
ON EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE AND TO TRY AND LIMIT ANY
SUPPORT TO THE MDC TO THE BAREST MINIMUM. IN THE
CONTEXT OF THIS MEETING THERE WASN'T EVEN A HINT AT
THE POSSIBILITY OF ELECTION MONITORS/OBSERVERS OR
PARTICIPATION BY EXTERNAL ACTORS. GIVEN MUDENGE'S
MARKER ON ASSISTANCE TO POLITICAL PARTIES, WE STRONGLY
BELIEVE THAT GETTING INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL PROGRAMS IN
HERE WILL BE A VERY TOUGH CHALLENGE AND HIGHLY
UNWELCOMED BY THE MUGABE GOVERNMENT.

ROTH

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